

SAYS RUSSIA WAS NOT SINCERE WHEN POWERS URGED PEACE

against Servia, whatever it may consist of, is merely a conservative one and has no other object than the necessary maintenance of our position in Europe.

XXVII. Count Berchtold to Count Szapary in St. Petersburg.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 25, 1914. As clause 5 of our demands concerning the cooperation of the Balkan Powers in the suppression of subversive agitation in Servia has called forth Mr. Sazonoff's particular objection, you should give him the strictly confidential information that the insertion of this clause, which has practical considerations and is not aimed at interfering with Servia's sovereignty, in the "cooperation" expressed in clause 5 refers to the creation of a secret "bureau de surete," which would work like the analogous Russian institutions in Paris and cooperate with the Servian police and administration.

XXIX. Count Szapary to Count Berchtold.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 27, 1914.

I have just had a long conversation with Mr. Sazonoff. I told the Minister I was under the impression that the character of our action had been misinterpreted by him. We were surprised of attempting to make an attack upon the Balkans and proposed to march upon Salonic or possibly even upon Constantinople. Others go so far as to say we were at war against Russia. I declared all this to be erroneous. The aim of our action is merely self-preservation and self-defense against a hostile propaganda against the integrity of the monarchy. In speech we do not use such words. It would not be one's mind in Austria-Hungary to threaten Russian interests or to seek trouble with Russia. We were, however, resolved to reach our aim, and the way we chose appears to us the most effective. We have not, however, lost sight of self-defense. I could not conceive the fact that we would not allow ourselves to be diverted from our way by any consequences whatsoever.

Mr. Sazonoff agreed. He recognized our aims and our legitimate rights, but opined that the way we chose to proceed was not the safest one. The note we have sent was styled in an unfortunate manner. He had studied it since and would like to peruse it once more with me.

I remarked that I was at his disposal, but was neither authorized to discuss the writing of the note nor to give an interpretation of it. His remarks, however, would be of greatest interest. The Minister then analyzed all the points of our demands. He said that nine out of the ten clauses were without great difficulty acceptable. He only took exception to the two clauses dealing with the cooperation of L. & R. officials in Servia and to the clauses concerning the disposal of the Balkan army and officials as were to be designated by and qualified those clauses as being unacceptable in their present form. With reference to the two first clauses I made myself the position to give an immediate interpretation in the sense of your telegram of the 25th instant. As to the third clause I qualified it as a necessary demand. In any case events had been set going. The Servians had mobilized as early as yesterday and I was ignorant of what had happened since.

XXXIII. Count Szapary to Count Berchtold.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 27, 1914. My Sazonoff declared to the German Ambassador he could "guarantee that no mobilization had been effectuated by Russia." Certain, most necessary military precautions, however, had been taken.

Austrian military attaché in St. Petersburg reports that "the Russian Minister of War had given him his word that not one man or horse was mobilized." The Austrian military precautions had, of course, been taken, but the precautions which, however, are "fairly extensive" as the military attaché expressed his personal opinion in his report.

XXXIV. Count Szapary to Count Berchtold.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

Great Britain and France should meet in conference in London in the ground that Germany could not place her ally before European court with reference to Austria-Hungary's conduct with Servia.

XXXV. Count Berchtold to Count Szapary.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

The imperial Russian Government having failed to give a satisfactory reply to the note which was handed them by the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, the Imperial and Royal Government to safeguard their rights and interests itself, as far as that power has a resort to the force of arms. Austria-Hungary therefore considers herself from now on to be in state of war with Servia.

XXXVI. Count Berchtold to the Royal Servian Foreign Office, Belgrade.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

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XXXVII. Count Berchtold to Count Szapary.

Telegram. VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

For your information, to be brought to the knowledge of the Secretary of State.

I have received from Count Mensdorff the following telegram, dated the 27th instant:

"On this occasion today to explain fully to Sir Edward Grey the real action does not mean aggression but rather a defense of representation and that we did not intend to violate Servian territorial integrity or independence. We desire to obtain satisfaction for the past and guarantee for the future."

We are doing our best to use of certain means to bring about an understanding with Count Szapary. Sir Edward Grey said he felt much disappointed at the fact that we did not manage with the Servian reply at though it were a complete refusal.

He had anticipated the reply would contain an explanation which the other governments would be able to interpret as a satisfactory arrangement.

This had been his idea when suggesting a conference. The conference should take place on the presumption that Austria-Hungary and Servia would withdraw from all military operations while the other Powers endeavored to find a satisfactory solution.

Today's declaration by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons enlarged upon the plan of a conference.

It was mentioned that we should receive from military operations against Servia. I expressed my fears that this was possibly too late to do so.

The Secretary of State opined that we were making a great mistake in not withdrawing from all circumstances to make war on Servia and if we presume that Russia would remain quiet, we should be able to persuade Russia to remain neutral, he would have no more to say if not impossibilities and necessities available.

There was no sign of uneasiness as mentioned to me that the great British fleet which had been concentrated in Portsmouth after the maneuvers and was supposed to operate today would remain there

for the time being. We would not have called in any reserves, but since they are gathered, we cannot send them home at this moment.

His idea of a conference aims at avoiding a conflict between the great Powers, if possible, and presumably is an endeavor to isolate the Germans. Should Russia mobilize and Germans take action, the project of a conference would automatically collapse.

It seems to me unnecessary to point out to you that Grey's project of a conference, imagined as it refers to our conflict with Servia, has lost its object in view of the prevailing state of war.

XXXVIII. Count Berchtold to Count Mensdorff, London.

VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

We lay particular stress upon Sir Edward Grey's impartial appreciation of our procedure in Servia in general and of our moral claim to justice in particular. I therefore request you to explain in detail to the Secretary of State the dossier which has been despatched to you by post and to point out especially the prominent points in the same terms which should distinguish our remarks from those in Sir Edward Grey's original criticism of the Servian note (copy of the note together with our remarks has been despatched to you yesterday's post) and make clear to him that Servia has only appeared to us to meet our demands, with the object of deriving Europe without giving any kind of guarantee as to the future.

Seeing that the Servian Government has only just now accepted our demands, and since our demands alone could satisfy us, the Servian tactics are easily fathomed. Servia has accepted, with various reservations, a number of our demands in order to impress the European powers, especially by relying on the services of the Balkans, and also because we have declared war on Servia yesterday. Referring to the idea of despatching upon the basis of the Servian note, we have refused to do so.

We had demanded the unconditional acceptance. Servia had endeavored to extract herself from the embarrassing situation by means of tricks only too well known to us. I adduced Sir Maurice de Balsac's local experience surely to prove that in our opinion the reply to our note has been handed in but shortly before the expiration of the stipulated time, namely, a few minutes before 6 o'clock.

We had previously made no military preparations, but such were forced upon us by the Servian mobilization.

XXXIX. Count Berchtold to Count Szapary, St. Petersburg.

VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

I have just received from Mr. Sazonoff a copy of the note addressed to Count Mensdorff, former Austrian Ambassador in London, in which he expresses his satisfaction at the proof of our good intentions but remarked that for obvious reasons the neutral ground would be a better place for concluding the negotiations. I replied that you desired a direct touch with St. Petersburg and that I would consequently not be in the position to give an opinion on the suggestion, but would not fail to report the same to you.

XL. Count Berchtold to Count Mensdorff, London.

VIENNA, July 28, 1914.

For your information, your state demands should be in accord with this.

The imperial Russian Ambassador has called on me today to complain that the note which you sent to me yesterday (the 27th inst.) in the course of which you had, with great readiness, analyzed the different points of Servia's reply note. Mr. Sazonoff held the opinion that Servia had, indeed, accepted the general mobilization of Europe but had not compensated several demands, which were, however, quite reasonable and which would only more endanger the peace within a very short time.

The British Ambassador assured me that he perfectly understood our stand-point and that he would support us in our demands.

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Count von Mensdorff, former Austrian Ambassador in London.

Baron von Burian, the new Austrian Imperial Foreign Minister.

Count Szecsen, former Austrian Ambassador in Paris.

VIENNA, July 29, 1914.

The serious and importance which the pending questions involve for the monarchy. Sir Edward Grey's suggestions concerning the possibility of preventing the outbreak of hostilities are easily fathomed. Servia has accepted, with various reservations, a number of our demands in order to impress the European powers, especially by relying on the services of the Balkans, and also because we have declared war on Servia yesterday. Referring to the idea of despatching upon the basis of the Servian note, we have refused to do so.

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XLV. Count Berchtold to the Imperial and Royal Ambassadors in St. Petersburg, London, Paris and Rome.

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